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were directed not only against this cult, but also against that of the Fire and of the Sun.[25] There was no cult of war-gods in the mythology of the Old Slavs nor was there any epic poetry in their folklore.

Unlike the patriarchal, rigidly stratified and dualistic religious system of steppe nomads which was full of tensions and struggles, the supernatural world of the Slavs of Polesie was anarchic, equalitarian and peaceful. Apparently projecting their own social organization into the supernatural world, the Old-Slavonic plowmen conceived it as being composed of both sexes but without a hierarchy of power among themselves The deities that inhabited that world were neither arbitrary nor corrupted, nor did they fight among themselves for the control over man. Festivals in their honor were celebrated with the accent on drink, song, dance and lovemaking.

Accordingly the Slavs of Polesie did not have to appease their deities nor try to be on good terms with both the bad and the good ones. They believed that after death bad and wicked people would roam the earth in the form of werewolves and vampires; but, they also possessed simple means of protection against these evil ghosts, such as pieces of torn clothes, which were accessible to everyone.[26] There were always persons of both sexes who maintained contact and control over the spirits of evil and were willing to help anyone in distress. Hence the Old Slavs trusted their wizards, the *veshchy*.[27]

According to the religious and social philosophy of the Slavs of the Dnieper, there are some general all-embracing rules of behavior to which all people, all the universe as well as all the deities, are subjected. In such a religious and philosophical system, the deities could not be capricious. They could be relied upon to behave according to commonly accepted rules of conduct and should not therefore be distrusted and feared. It is this optimistic view of destiny and of the universe, in which order and anarchic equity, not sword or might nor caprice prevail, that perhaps had found expression in the Old-Slavonic concept of law which was identified with truth and justice (*pravda*). The same view of life had perhaps found expression also in the Old-Slavonic concept of judgment which was identified with destiny

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This idealized image of mother as a helper and interceder that was projected into religious lore has been manifested also in widespread Madonna worship. The cult of the Bogoroditsa was noticeably developed in Russian society from the days of its conversion to Christianity. The old Russian princes of the Kiev period invoked the help of the Mother of God, dedicated their cities to her, and wrote prayers to her.[6] Throughout many centuries Madonna icons were very widely in use and prayers to Madonna were very frequent in the religious practices of the Russian Church. Some of the most outstanding Russian Orthodox cathedrals have been dedicated to the Mother of God.

Identification with mother is seen in the often used phrase "Mother Russia" and in the word *rodina*—"mother-country." Also rivers and cities are regularly identified with mother (Mother Volga, Mother Moscow). The days in the week which are considered holy or consecrated are sometimes identified with mother, such as Mother Wednesday, Mother Friday.[7] And in Russian epic poetry, the whole earth is invariably identified with mother in the often-repeated phrase *Mat syra zemlya*—moist Mother Earth.

Of course other attachments took place in the Great-Russian family as manifested in the identification of a younger brother with his older brother and in frequent father-daughter emotional ties. There were, also, families in which mother appeared not in her expected role of close friend and protector but in that of a domineering and tyrannical despot. All such relations had their particular effects on the development of a child's personality, as we shall see on the following pages.

10
DEPENDENCE, SENSE OF GUILT, FEAR

I

WHEN a child's demand for attention and love is thwarted by a dominating and forbidding father, feelings of

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had to pay for religious services. In addition many village priests had an inferior training, were often semi-literate, and were sometimes publicly humiliated by their superiors. Abased by hard conditions of life, some of them tended to lose self-respect and sought comfort in habitual drunkenness.

In the meantime as a result of the conditions of serfdom the economic situation of the peasants was deteriorating while the village priests whose main revenues consisted of fees received for their services tended to squeeze out of the peasantry all they could. Hence in many parishes the relations between the priests and the peasants gradually developed into a state of perpetual bickering and struggle.[1] In such circumstances peasants were likely to develop a negative attitude toward the clergy. To "have a priest's eye" meant in peasant idiom to covet everything. Similar meaning was conveyed in the phrase "Am I a priest to eat two dinners?" The peasants compared the greediness of the priests to that of the judges. "A priest waits for a rich dead, and a judge for a rich litigant"; "A judge's pocket is the same as a priest's belly," they would say. It was considered a bad omen to meet a priest on the street. It must be pointed out, also, that in a situation in which any expression of opposition against the lay authorities was very risky and dangerous, the attack against the priests might have served as a convenient substitute target for destructive aggression directed against the landlords and the state.

In such conditions government ukases and police measures were sometimes necessary to force the peasants into churches; they were made to confess and to take communion by means of threat. As a result, confession and communion tended to be looked upon as a commercialized formality. It was a tedious obligation that had to be paid for in cash, the same as all other tributes and taxes to which the peasants were subjected. In such circumstances, confession and communion tended to lose their function of consolation, comfort, relief from guilt and identification with divinity. As a result a growing number of peasants ceased to look upon the priests as their friends and protectors; they tended to look upon them as government agents who conspired with the landlords and the police against the

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peasants. Such a situation in many cases bred extreme antagonism against the priests, especially when hostility against the priests was stirred up by systematic agitation, as in the case of various sects of Dissenters (*Raskolniki*). This agitation often took the form of folk songs:

> hairy ones . . . the beasts:
> These beasts are the priests
> They howl, like wolves. . . .
>
> • • •
>
> In the churches they praise the Lord hypocritically,
> And ensnare innocent people with their words;
> In the churches they offer glory to God,
> And send the Uryadniks to hunt innocent people;
>
> • • •
>
> And they drive innocent people to Siberia.
> In the churches they open their mouths,
> But before the government they keep silent.
> Their hair is long like women's,
> But their brain is a great deal shorter.
>
> • • •
>
> They howl like beasts;
>
> • • •
>
> They extort from all.
> Wicked hairy priests . . .[2]
>
> • • •

The peasants were attracted to numerous sects of the Dissenters which were spreading in Russia, especially since the seventeenth century when the great movement of the Old Believers (*Starovery*) began. In these sects and their ideologies the peasants protested against the conditions of serfdom. The teachings of a number of these sects expressed yearning for a new life, and for an anarchic brotherhood of men in which nobody would be rejected and everybody accepted on equal terms. Peasant Sutayev, for instance, who founded the Sutayevtsy sect in 1880, was considered to be one of the most pious churchgoers before he revolted against the official Church. He rebelled when he was over fifty. The occasion was a dispute that he had with his parish priest over a fee for the burial of his grandson. It was after this quarrel that he stopped going to